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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

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Israel and Africa

We are familiar with the Israeli aggression and the neo-colonialist nature of the Israeli state in the Middle East. What is not often talked about is her role on the continent of Africa. While that role has been relatively small, it is strategically important and grows every day. Israel's role is essentially that of a front man for the imperialist powers. In this article we will examine Israeli assistance programs (excluding military assistance) and capital investments in African countries.

Israel's relations with African countries is clearly in the national interest of Zionism. When one is surrounded by hostile countries, and harassed by Palestine Liberation forces, it makes good sense to try and win allies in Africa. In the long run, the only way an agent of U.S. imperialism can survive is by expansion into Africa at the expense of the Africans. But Israel cannot take on this task alone. As early as 1959 Rivkin (who is an economist in charge of African Research at MIT's Center for International Studies, a CIA-supported institution, and a key figure in the World Bank) publically suggests that the U.S. encourage Israeli penetration in Africa: "Israel's role as a third force might also be reinforced by imaginative use of the third country technique. A free world state wishing to enlarge its assistance flow to Africa might channel some part of it through Israel because of Israel's special qualifications and demonstrated acceptability to many African nations."

Israel's assistance program to Africa takes three basic forms.

I. HIGHLY SPECIALIZED EXPERTS FROM ISRAEL are placed in strategic positions in African countries. The most important area is, of course, the military, which will be discussed in a future article. The Israeli program operates as sort of an exchange system, i.e. while an Israeli "expert" is assigned to an African country, Africans are trained in Israel. This "parallel training approach"

is summarized in the table below.

Notice the concentration of Israeli attention in two important areas; agricultural development and "youth work." Israel has been especially active in neo-colonial countries with its nation-building youth groups. These groups are modelled after Israel's own youth program. One group covers the ages of 14-18. The activities includes sports, hiking, camping, crafts, discussions,

**TABLE I
ISRAELI EXPERTS SERVING
ABROAD AND TRAINEES ARRIVING
IN ISRAEL, BY FIELD OF SERVICE
OR TRAINING
1958-66**

Field of Service or Training	Total Africa	
TOTAL	1815	1261
Agriculture	523	261
Youth organization	256	234
Engineering	64	42
Medicine and health	202	173
Education	106	102
Cooperation	24	21
Management	63	46
Construction and building	65	49
Social work	23	22
Miscellaneous	489	311
TOTAL	9074	4482
Agriculture	2264	805
Cooperation and trade unionism	1048	664
Community development	712	493
Youth leadership	529	285
Medicine and health	265	211
Commerce, transport, finance, industry	156	37
Study tours and seminars	1622	537
Individual academic studies	230	102
Miscellaneous	2248	1348

some physical work and paramilitary training. The second group handles the military age group and emphasizes regular military training. The youth development programs are supposed to be non-political. But in fact they create a segment of well trained, politically reactionary youth to be used by the neo-colonial states. A few of the countries that participate in this program are: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Senegal.

Most African countries have an agrarian economy and, therefore, it is very significant that Israel is trying to influence agricultural development. The Israelis have tried to introduce their own pseudo-socialist moshav farm instead of an agrarian program which has as its goal state collective farms. Of course the new Israeli programs have not developed the agricultural sectors of these countries.

II. THE SECOND FORM OF ISRAELI ASSISTANCE INVOLVES TRAINING OF STUDENTS, CIVIL SERVANTS, LABOR LEADERS AND OTHERS IN ISRAEL. One interesting example involves the Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Tel Aviv. This institute turns out 30-50 labor leaders annually. It is headed by Ellahu Elath, Israel's first ambassador to the United States. The program was launched through a \$60,000 grant from the AFL-CIO in 1960. In the first two years it received over \$300,000 from the AFL-CIO and other Western unions. We should remember that the international program of the AFL-CIO has been shown to be an integral part of and, in part, funded by the CIA. The aim of this institute is to depoliticize African labor leaders and to convince them to take a cooperative outlook rather than an anti-imperialist outlook. This program, more than any other, strikes at the most ad-

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Basic Trends in the U.S. Policy Toward Africa

As the economic crisis in the imperialist world worsens, the imperialist powers need to heighten aggressive actions to facilitate the export of capital. This manifests itself in new strategies. U.S. imperialism, as directed by the Nixon regime, is not excepted from this behavior.

With respect to Africa, the U.S. has maintained historically a neocolonialist policy since Africa had already been carved up into visible colonial empires by the European powers, especially Great Britain and France, before the U.S. could grab its share. With her neocolonialist policy, U.S. imperialism has attempted to create and maintain an invisible neocolonialist empire on a world wide scale, gradually ousting the European powers from commanding heights in India, the Middle East, and in Africa, notably Ghana, and Nigeria. This hegemonial position of U.S. neocolonialism is being reversed throughout the Third World, as the National Liberation Movement moves to its national democratic stage under the leadership of such patriots as Nyerere of Tanzania, Toure of Guinea, Indira Gandhi of India, and Sadat of Egypt. As a result of U.S. policy in Africa, in the immediate post war period, the U.S. received the unjust acclaim of being an anti-colonial power since she seemed to support the ouster of colonial powers from Africa and Asia.

However, when the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism ended with the crisis of over-production in 1957-58, U.S. imperialism attempted to farm out those contradictions by accelerating the plunder of under-developed areas. This was done by debt bondage, burdensome aid programs with their over-emphasis on military expenditures that curb national development, and direct military punitive actions on the dependent peoples who do not accede to these rapacious social relations, (most graphically in Viet Nam but also in the Dominican Republic, and the African Portuguese territories through the Azores agreement in \$436 million in military assistance). These reactionary actions by the U.S. only steeled the National Liberation Movements and prepared them for armed struggle to rebuff this effort by U.S. imperialism to repartition the world. Moreover, the National Liberation Movements increasingly cemented their relations with the socialist camp.

As a result of these rebuffs, combined with the fact that the relation of forces in the world is constantly changing in the direction of the peaceful, democratic and socialist forces, U.S. imperialism

had to change its tactics and strategies since it is now operation from a position of weakness rather than strength, not only in regard to Africa but in its relations with other major imperialist powers. Hence, U.S. imperialism is willing to give more concessions to certain reactionary elements in the "Third World" than heretofore, e.g., the *Wall Street Journal* suggested that governments of the world's largest oil exporting nations, be given the right to acquire large amounts of stock in U.S., European, and Japanese industrial and financial companies from their huge and rapidly growing oil revenues. Otherwise the major imperialist countries will incur large deficits in their balance of payments as a result of their energy needs. What *The Wall Street Journal* neglected to add was that such a policy would not aid the development of those countries since the process of out-flow



FOUR MORE YEARS

of capital from developing areas will continue although the owners of the capital will change. If this policy succeeds, we can look forward to seeing Abdul Hassan on the Board of Directors of Chase Manhattan and Yusuf Diop as Vice President of Continental Can, while Africa remains immersed in neo-colonial stagnation. As Victor Tyakunenko said in the *World Marxist Review*, February, 1972, "For all the variety of methods and means employed these days by the imperialist powers, we are witnessing a general tendency to convert the former colonies and dependent countries from an adjunct to the national economies of the metropolitan states into a component of the capitalist world economy as a whole. . . . Some observers would declaim, "So what. Will this not lead to their development?" If the records of pre-revolutionary Russia and more recently, Brazil, and Pakistan are instructive, such a policy will lead to growth without de-

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Letter to the Editor

Dear Brother,

I have been reading the *African Agenda* and I heard you on the Wesley South Talk Show. Would you explain more about your committee and how I can join the committee.

K. Washington
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Brother Washington,

The members of the African American Solidarity Committee share common interests against U.S. capitalist exploitation at home and around the world, specifically in Africa which is kept underdeveloped by the same vicious system of profit for the few and misery for the many.

One of the functions of the committee is to publish monthly issues of the *African Agenda*. We were instrumental in drafting a resolution calling for the training of medical cadre of the African liberation movements, and the collection of medical supplies to be distributed to the liberation movements. This resolution was presented to the National Convention of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. In addition, we have participated in demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam and expressed political support for the anti-war movement. Several members of our committee participated in the conference at Howard University on U.S. policies in Africa and the Caribbean and also in the African Liberation Day Demonstration in Washington, D.C. We protested Continental Bank's \$48 million dollar loan to the racist South African government for locomotives. We recently established a speakers' bureau, and we have monthly forums and classes on various aspects of the African struggle.

The AASC also has established fund raising committees in other cities, for collecting money and material goods for the liberation movements in Africa. We have planned other activities which we hope will serve to enlighten the community and, you can join the AASC by writing for information about our meetings to our mailing address:

AASC - African Agenda
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Pass on this copy to your shopmate or friend.

The Staff of the African Agenda welcomes your comments and any articles that are less than 500 words.

News Briefs

New York — The New York Times on Nov. 5, '72 stated that "Sen. George McGovern's study group on African policy has accused the Nixon Administration of conducting African-American relations in such a way as to bring about a repetition of the Vietnam experience." The study mentioned that, "the war is underway, by privileged foreign dominant white forces, backed by investments, loans and credits, and by military, governmental, scientific, and diplomatic aid of governments in Europe as well as the U.S. government".

* * * * *

Chicago — Sunday Nov. 19th, there was a Southern Africa Solidarity Day conference in Chicago. One of the main speakers was Sharfudine Khan, the U.S. representative of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). Other speakers were representatives of MPLA and of FRELIMO's Central Committee. The conference was sponsored by a coalition of Chicago groups interested in the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa.

* * * * *

United Nations — The U.N. General Assembly debate on measures to combat World terrorism has recently been in the news. Senegal voted against this item being placed on the agenda because she felt that the racist and colonialist regimes would take advantage of the debate to justify their hold on African territories. C. L. Sulzberger in an editorial in the N.Y. Times presumptuously entitled "Can the U.N. Make Nations Behave", suggested that the problem might be that the Afro-Asian bloc has exactly half the total membership in the U.N. He forgot to add however, that this same bloc represents 75% of the world's people.

* * * * *

Moscow — Recently the Soviet Union announced a grant of about \$18,000 to the O.A.U. Liberation Committee to be used for broadcasting to Southern Africa. The USSR also plans to send ten times that amount in medical and educational supplies to the liberation movements. It is an already known fact that the USSR is the main supplier of weapons to the liberation movements in Africa.

* * * * *

New York — A. Cabral leader of P.A.I.G.C. in Guinea-Bissau recently spoke at the U.N. and won a major victory by being seated on the General Assembly discussion on Colonialism. No longer will Portugal and other imperialist powers dominate the discussion in the General Assembly on the status of African liberation movements. In a short time Cabral will declare Guinea-Bissau an independent country.

They Pay 15 Cents For One African

Thousands of Africans are arrested daily for a "violation" of the pass law in the Republic of South Africa. Usually they are kept in the so-called rural prisons built with the money of white farmers unions. Each farmer receives as many prisoners as he is to have according to the number of shares he has purchased. The ministry in charge of prisons takes 15 cents a day for every prisoner.

The plight of those who are recruited legally, so to speak, is none the easier. Usually the recruiting is done by special agents. An African does not know where he will be brought to after he has left his finger-print on a contract. They are paid according to the principle: the darker the skin, the less pay! There is a three-grade employment system. Africans are given the lowest-grade jobs. Wherever the native people, who account for 75 per cent of South Africa's labour, may be employed — in diamond pits or goldfields, in construction or on farms — everywhere their work is, on the average, twenty times cheaper than that of white workers.

The investigation carried out by the

South African Association on wages and labour productivity has shown that only an insignificant number of Africans living in cities fit into the official, obviously understated, subsistence minimum.

Africans live in special settlements. In one of them which is not far from Johannesburg there are thousands of recruits huddled together. Separated from their families, they live in the "hell hostels", every block of which is isolated by steel ropes.

All the laws in South Africa are made so as to enslave the native people still more. Each year the Pretoria rulers drive nearly 100,000 Africans away from the regions taken over by the whites to the reservations that are of little use for agriculture. Those who do not get jobs at factories are sent to these reservations.

Moving Africans to Bantustan reservations, racists promise to facilitate the "flourishing" of these territories. In Transkei, the largest Bantustan set up in 1963, there are hundreds of thousands of people who are living a semi-starving life. The per capita output of agricultural products is steadily going down.

It is impossible to find a job there since there are no industrial enterprises except for small repair-shops. The Transkei industrialisation promised by the government proved to be another swindle.

Transkei and other Bantustans are used as a source of labour for American, West European and South African employers. Protected by the inhuman laws of apartheid, the monopolists turn the sweat and blood of millions of Africans into money. According to foreign press reports, the largest US corporations gain not less than 15 per cent of profit from the capital invested in South Africa, far more than in the United States.



In South Africa, the children of Africans also are labour force. Recently 145 boys aged from 8 to 15 were caught in Boksburg and compelled to work according to the "youth service programme". This is the name given by the all-white city council to the system of exploiting juveniles. One of its members declared cynically that the forced work of black children for whites "teaches them how to see the values of honest work and develops civic pride in them."

Every boy is paid two cents for a six-hour working day doing this "honest work". The appeals of the parents who try to return their children into the family and to school are declined by the city council which says in reply that the boys now belong to the local administration.

The quintessence of the apartheid system, says one of the UN reports, is that Africans are deprived of an opportunity to be anything but cheap labour.

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The African Agenda needs funds. Please send all financial contributions to our mailing address.

Recommended Books

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1. *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, V. Lutsky. Systematic history describes the major political and diplomatic developments against the vast background of Arab history through World War II. 422 pages. Price: \$2.00
2. *Asia and Africa: Fundamental Changes*, V. Parlov. Survey of the breakup of the colonial empires and the formation and development of the new states. 384 pages. Price: \$1.50
3. *Protest and Conflict in African Literature*, C. Pieterse and D. Munro. Works on basic themes in African literature, and the literature of African protest to colonial oppression. Price: \$2.45
4. *Freedomways*, A quarterly review of the freedom movement in the U.S. Special third quarter issue, 1972, on Africa and Asia. Articles on Bangladesh, the Black Community, Guinea-Bissau, etc. 264 pages. Price: \$1.25
5. *A History of Tanzania*, I. Kimambo and A. Temu. General articles on Tanzania's political and economic development since 1800. 276 pages. Price: \$2.00

velopment, nay, more, to the development of military bureaucracy which plunders their own people and aggress on their weaker neighbors. In Brazil, 10% of the working population consumes 80% of the gross national product. Such a policy envisioned by Nixon in Africa would, in the long run, if it was successful, result in the Africanization of the armed struggle in Africa. "Let the Africans fight the Africans." One of the components of the Nixonite strategy is to attempt to split the Muslims and non-Muslims in Africa, with the assistance of Israeli Zionists. In addition, the strategy calls for the support of reactionary nationalists and Pan-Africanists against the progressive national democrats. These strategies are not working as attested by the rapprochement between Holden Roberto, a nationalist, and Angosthino Neto, a national democrat in Angola, and by the recent ouster of Israeli Advisors in Uganda, by Nyerere's recent dropping of the slogan, "African socialism," for a more scientific approach, and by Colonel Achaempong's reversal of Busia's neo-colonial policies in Ghana. Thus, although there will undoubtedly be setbacks, the Nixon neo-colonialist policy will be defeated. The Liberation of African peoples is irreversible.

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vanced segments of the African peoples, its small working class. It seeks to neutralize one of the most political bodies in Africa today, the trade union.

III. THE THIRD FORM OF ISRAEL'S ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IS THE INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL IN AFRICA. Africa is a convenient source of raw materials for Israel's industry, and a market for her manufactured goods. In 1963, Israel's exports to Africa totalled \$11.6 million. Only two years later, they had almost doubled to \$21.5 million. S. Decalo, a U.S. economist, notes, "African imports a number of Israeli commodities even if small in absolute figures which amount to over 50% of total Israeli exports of these items. There are a number of other commodities (asbestos pipes, carpets) of which Africa purchases 25% of Israeli exports."

Israel also invests money in Africa. The Israeli economy is in shambles, and we know that almost one-half of the funding for their total aid program in Africa comes from non-Israeli sources. Mainly from the U.S. Government.

For example, Israeli capital has helped build an International Airport in Accra, Ghana, luxury hotels and 800 miles of road in Nigeria, and a fancy parliamentary building in Sierra Leone. None of these projects is designed to develop the economies or increase the independence of the African states.

Israel uses almost exclusively the "MIXED COMPANY" as the vehicle for its investments. A "MIXED COMPANY" is a company which has native as well as foreign money invested in it. There are many advantages in this form. These joint projects enable Israel to open new areas of profit with a relatively small amount of money invested. These mixed companies often enjoy special privileges and protection by the African government. And of course politically they hope to evade the charge of being imperialists by pointing out that they neither own nor control any companies in Africa. They do, however, take home the profits and are laying a solid foundation for future capital penetration.

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